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THE  
FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL  
STUDY GROUP  
ON ALIENATION

# An exploratory study of the intake interviews in public welfare offices in Montreal

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## ANALYSIS OF INTAKE INTERVIEWS ;

### An Exploratory Study of the Intake Interviews in Public Welfare Offices in Montreal

Presented to

The Ministry of Family and  
Social Welfare  
Province of Quebec

and

The Federal Provincial Study Group on Alienation

DAVID JACKSON AND ASSOCIATES LIMITED  
Toronto, Ontario

AUGUST, 1970



## BACKGROUND

This study was carried out as one of many studies which have been commissioned by the Task Force on Alienation and the National Department of Health and Welfare. A composite report summarizing general trends in all the studies will be presented in September, 1970 to the Task Force.

In particular, our group was asked to conduct the study reported here in the Province of Quebec. As one aspect of the alienation process it was decided to explore what happened to the client when he first came to the welfare office to ask for assistance. The thought was, that perhaps the initial experience began an alienation process that was difficult to reverse. On the other hand, perhaps the right approach during the initial contact reduced alienation. I would appreciate it if the reader would recognize the tentative nature of our work in this study. We operated under severe budget limitations which prevented us from exploring the intake interview in either depth or breadth. The study was undertaken as a first attempt to explore what was felt to be an important area -- the social work theory. It is our hope that, from this tentative, first look at one area, we can project questions which merit more rigorous examination under a more detailed and broad scale investigation.

We are particularly indebted to Mr. Gilles Beausoleil, Department of Planning and Social Welfare, Quebec City, his assistant, Mr. Gilles Picard, and Mr. Bernard Laplante, Director, Montreal Region, Department of Health and Welfare, who gave us complete cooperation and were most helpful and interested in the results of this study. Finally, we would like to single out for special mention, Miss Louise Harel who conducted the major portion of the field work under the direction of Mr. Lucien Savard. Her devotion to the objectives of the study and her creativity in working in complex situations ensured the value of the data which is reported.

In conclusion, we would like to comment on the bi-cultural nature of this investigation. It has been a rare and valuable experience for those of us working on the team to share common concerns and research interests across two languages and two cultures. The sensation that some of the basic causes of alienation are duplicated in French Canada and English Canada was a particularly strong one as we worked together. The other

happy outcome of this confederation was the realization that research teams, made up of people from various points and of various cultural predispositions, have minor difficulties because of these differences; but the advantages and added stimulation of such differences far outweigh any minor mechanical problems which may arise. Speaking for the entire team, we are particularly proud and happy to have been given the opportunity to work together on an important question which spans the two cultures of our country.

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## SUMMARY



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## SUMMARY

The participants in our study included 26 welfare recipients and 15 social workers from two Montreal welfare offices. The clients were chosen randomly from among welfare recipients reporting to the office on specified days for their initial interview. The social workers had experience in welfare work, of from six months to 22 years, but only one worker had social work training.

The following procedure was used:

1. The client was interviewed by a social worker who gained his permission to video tape the first half-hour of the interview.
2. After the interview the client was questioned about his perception of the role of the social worker and his perception of his own role. He was asked if he was satisfied with the help he had received.
3. The client was asked to review the tape of his interview with the researcher and to comment on incidents which he felt increased or decreased his alienation. At this point, the tape was stopped and the researcher explored his perception of the incident in detail.
4. In a separate interview, the social worker was asked about his perception of his own and the client's role and about the efficacy of his actions.
5. The social worker then reviewed the tape with the researcher. He pointed out when he thought the client's alienation increased or decreased and the reason for this.

The video tapes were scored in terms of basic communication elements. We compared the styles of the social workers and clients using norms developed by Mullen (1969). Ratings were made on the degree of satisfaction evidenced by the client after the interview. Other data collected, such as backgrounds of the worker and the client, were coded in the normal way and analyzed in terms of bivariate distributions.

The general attitude of participants toward the study was positive. The social workers found particularly stimulating the use of the video tape recorder.

In a comparison with Mullen's norms, the effective counseling took up a small part of the worker-client communication in our study. Silence and interruptions accounted for 31.7% of the total interview time. In general, social workers were responsible for 49.6% of the talking time, while recipients were responsible for 50.4%.

After rating all interviews we found that 19% of the clients were very satisfied with the interview; 73% were satisfied; and only 8% were not satisfied with the outcome of the interview. "Very satisfied" clients were generally responsible for more than 50% of the speaking time.

We were able to confirm in qualitative terms the following hypotheses:

1. The greater the congruence between the recipient and the worker role perception of the recipient after the interview, the greater their similarity of perception of the worker's role.
2. The greater the satisfaction of the recipient after the initial interview, the higher the rating of the social worker's ability to identify the problem and come to a useful decision about a course of action.
3. There is a relationship between client's satisfaction and the congruence between client's and worker's role perception of the client.

Important themes emerged concerning the complex problems of the welfare system.

- . For the recipient, the community with its prejudices and pressures is his greatest source of alienation.
- . The clients know very little about their rights to receive welfare and show resistance to seeking assistance.
- . The social worker is an instrument of the law; he interprets the law and makes decisions. The social worker is handicapped in that he has to assess whether or not the client is abusing the system.
- . During the interview, the social worker and recipient have to be on guard. There is evidence of real tension. Clients are very nervous about questions which deal with their personal problems.
- . Another reason for client alienation concerns the forms which have to be filled in during the interview. There is a marked divergence in the degree to which social workers probe into the family background of the client.
- . Social workers consider most clients to be temporary cases. They use the word "depannage", which is a motoring term meaning a temporary repair, to get people back on the road again.
- . The social worker finds himself strategically in the middle of what should be an integrated social service.

#### Recommendations

1. Provide clients with more information, such as:

- printed material which tells the clients what information is required from them in order that their requests for welfare assistance can be processed.

- basic information about other services such as employment opportunities, compensation for unemployment, regulations of old age pension, etc.
  - basic information about the client's rights and privileges under the welfare system.
2. Re-conceptualize the public welfare function by giving the welfare office a central position for referrals to ancillary services.
  3. Improve the procedure for the client's first contact with the welfare system.
  4. Improve the type of casework approach.
  5. Separate the "money giving" and "counselling" functions.
  6. Allow clients to pay back financial assistance given to them.
  7. The welfare system should be more aggressive, seeking out problems which are imminent rather than waiting passively for people to drag themselves in desperation to the welfare office.
  8. Define, more clearly, the role of the social worker.
  9. Keep to a minimum actions which add to a client's feeling of shame and personal self-doubt.
  10. Speed up feedback to applicants about their likelihood of receiving financial aid.



## OBJECTIVES



## CHAPTER I

### OBJECTIVES

1. To examine the relationship between the role perception of the recipient and the welfare worker and their behaviour in an interview.
2. To explore with the worker and recipient, factors in the initial interview which contribute to or reduce alienation.
3. To identify the variables which promote:
  - (a) Good communication
  - (b) Effective problem analysis and decision-making
4. To demonstrate a procedure for improving problem solving and interpersonal skills of welfare workers.





## PROBLEM DEFINITION



## CHAPTER II

### PROBLEM DEFINITION

Before we can study client alienation we must attempt a frame of reference. The meaning of the term alienation has become increasingly elusive as the term has been used more frequently. Robert Blauner describes alienation as comprised of four dimensions:

1. Powerlessness
2. Meaninglessness
3. Purposelessness
4. Self estrangement

For our purposes, looking at the client's relationship with the Department, we will confine ourselves to the first three. Relating these terms to this relationship, a client who is alienated feels:

1. No control over his actions within the Department. This can generalize to the feeling that the Department has complete power over his life, and that he himself has lost this mandate.
2. That he is not part of the overall process. He is only an unimportant part of the Department. His existence has no meaning for the Department.
3. That his goals are not the same as those of the Department

The interview between the worker and client is the basis of the client's perceptions of the Department. More importantly, it is the source of a client's self-image; it leads to perceptions of how the client views himself as a person. This relationship should be examined intensively.

The assumption of this study is that when a client comes to the Department of Welfare his initial contact in terms of:

1. role perception
2. the way the interview is conducted in terms of:
  - a. communication
  - b. methods of problem analysis and decision making

will have an effect on degree of alienation experienced by the client.

It is necessary to review recent literature regarding the importance of the client-worker interview. Much has been written about the first interview but more in the therapeutic setting than in a welfare assistance setting (Aronson and Overall (66); Overall and Aronson (63)). The expectations that the person brings to the interview were found to be correlated with the success of a series of interviews (Heine and Trosman). Generally speaking, when there was a mutuality of expectations there was a stronger likelihood of success as defined by continuance of treatment (Thomas and Polansky). We intend to ask the client and the social worker to describe their roles after the interview. It is predicted that the greater the similarity of role perception the greater the client's satisfaction after the interview.

To summarize, there has been considerable work in the area of therapeutic interviews between client and worker and factors leading to the success of an initial interview. Little work has been done in the area of meeting the client's material needs in the first interview, probably due to lack of interest and the difficulty in measuring success.

Much research has been conducted concerning the classification of communication in the interview. Florence Hollis made the major contribution to the casework process classification. Her classification takes into



account specific purposes rather than eventual outcome. Rather than the global distinction between support and clarification she devised more specific categories for smaller units of data (clauses).

The new classification has six major categories which purport to be exhaustive, mutually exclusive and of equivalent generality. Her major categories in the casework process are:

sustainment

direct influence

ventilation - description - exploration

reflection on person - situation configuration

reflection on personality patterns

reflection on early life

#### Ventilation - Description - Exploration

The commonest category for communications between caseworker and client proved to be the combination of ventilation, description and exploration (40% of the worker's communications). Within this major category the distinction between thought and feeling could not be applied to the data with any consistency. Yet the old classification had included tension release (Ventilation) with the supportive techniques while information giving (Exploration) was thought to contribute to clarification. This is a striking new departure discarding old misconceptions in response to the realities of the communications between caseworker and client.

*"Often we could not tell how much ventilation was occurring as the client described a situation. Some clients are vivid and others 'cool'. The vigor with which something is described may or may not be a measure of the ventilation the telling provides the client. Certainly, from the worker's side, the same words frequently can be used to evoke either description or ventilation."*

## Reflection (On Early Life, Personality Patterns and Current Person-Situation Configuration)

The three reflective categories account for much of the communication but vary unequally among themselves. Intrapsychic functioning and genetic themes have occupied a special place in casework ideology and it had been expected that reflection on these would occur frequently in some cases and hardly at all in others. Both of these expectations proved wrong in analysis of the first five interviews of marital counselling cases. In general, reflection on personality patterns and early life account for less than three per cent of the worker's communications to the client, and less than five per cent of communications both ways between worker and client. Although such reflection occurs infrequently, it does occur in all cases. Hollis describes these occurrences of thinking about dynamic and genetic factors as "episodes" which are "followed by return to the person-situation configuration as soon as the new understanding has cleared the way for better perception and handling of current affairs.

Her most recent suggestion is that:

*"When understanding of personality patterns and dynamics and their derivations is needed, only brief consideration of the material may be required, provided a firm basis has been laid in thoughtful consideration of the details of the client's day-by-day responses to life events."*

## Sustainment and Direct Influence

The new classification divides psychological support into two major categories, sustaining procedures and direct influence. This major change raises the important question of the relationship between sustainment and influence, a question which is developed below. These, incidentally, are the two categories which apply only to the worker's but not to the client's communications. The code distinguishes four discrete sustaining procedures and five or six degrees of influence. Direct influence is treated as a continuum but there is no suggestion

about how the different types of sustaining procedures are related to each other.

Hollis' new classification of treatment process has made it possible to apply scientific content analysis to the communications between caseworker and client. Hollis and her associates have made productive use of the classification and have made an important contribution to professional knowledge.

E. J. Mullen who used Hollis' classification recently (1969) published the norms for casework communication. Therefore, we used Mullen's method for analyzing the communication in this study. From his six casework communication categories, we have adapted the following:

- a. sustaining
- b. direct influence
- c. ventilation - description - exploration
- d. reflection

Mullen shows that worker style creates the largest variation between types of communication used.

Oxley suggests that overconcern with economic help on the part of the social worker may lead to client dependency. Such overconcern with economic matters may also cause a barrier to communication and the client's perception of the problem may be ignored. We examined these relationships.

## CHAPTER III

### METHOD

#### PART 1

#### Subjects

The research was conducted in two Montreal welfare offices:

- Montreal Nord -12 recipients    8 workers
- Longueuil    -    14 recipients    7 workers

We proposed to study 30 clients, but because of refusals and technical difficulties we were able to analyze only 26.

The clients were chosen randomly. That is, their names were "picked out of a hat" from all those reporting to the office that day for their initial interviews.

A pilot study was begun on June 2, 1970. After revising the procedures, a written manual was prepared which gave the field staff explicit instructions about collecting and coding the data. The research assistant, Miss Louise Harel, spoke French throughout the study. All data was collected and the video tapes analyzed by July 30, 1970.

#### Clients

They extended from a self-possessed, confident, normal working man who had broken his arm or had a temporary set back, to the abandoned, pregnant girl with no money and many debts who had been thrown out of her parent's home. (See Appendix A for a case by case description). Thirty per cent of the clients were employable. The average age was 24 years, and the median education was between Grade 10 and 11.



Their reasons for asking for welfare assistance were strongly financial.

#### Social Workers

Only one social worker out of 15 had social work training. They ranged in age from 25 to 62 years but no social worker fell into the age range 35 to 45 years. While experience in the Welfare Department ranged from six months to 22 years, for many older social workers their present job was a second profession. They had done other work prior to coming to the Department.

Video Taped Interviews

Clients who were selected were met by the researcher and asked if they would be willing to participate in a research project which was dedicated to studying better ways to serve clients. In all cases, the respondents agreed. The interview room was equipped with a video tape camera in full view of the client, who was asked if he would give permission for us to video tape the interview with the social worker. Once permission had been given the social worker was introduced, and the social worker and the client (alone in the room with an unmanned video camera) were able to complete their normal interview. The first half-hour of the social worker - recipient interview was recorded and analyzed.

The Client

After the interview the client was questioned about his perception of his role and that of the social worker. He was asked if he was satisfied with the help he had received. It is important to emphasize that the researcher was not an employee of the Government Department but was hired to conduct a survey to improve welfare services. Therefore, the researcher had nothing to do with the recipient's receipt of welfare payments.

Video Tape Viewed and Discussed with Clients

The client was asked to review the tape of his interview with the researcher and comment on incidents which he felt increased or decreased his alienation. The procedure was to look at three minutes of taping and then stop and ask the recipient to comment.

Questionnaire for Social Worker

Both recipient and worker were assured of the confidential nature of the discussion and the video taping. No one in the office saw the tapes other than those involved, nor did anyone look at the data other than the research group. The worker was encouraged to be

frank and open in his discussion of his role. He was asked about his perception of his own and the client's role and about the efficacy of his actions.

#### Discussion of Video Tape with Worker

Later in a separate session the researcher reviewed the video tape with the social worker in the same manner as had been used with the recipient. Every three minute burst was explored and he was asked to point out when he thought the client's alienation increased or decreased and what he thought were the reasons. At the conclusion of the tape review the researcher had a general discussion with the worker about the system and procedures of the Department and their effect on alienation. These answers were recorded verbatim.

The video tapes were scored by the research assistant in terms of basic communication elements. The number of words spoken by both the worker and the recipient per minute were counted, using norms recently published by Mullen (69). We compared the style of the social worker and recipient in this sample with norms developed in the United States. The number of seconds of silence of both parties was used as an indicator of passivity. Causal sentences (that is, those that begin with because or have some cause-effect implication) were coded. Ratings were made on the degree of satisfaction evidenced by the client after the interview and the worker satisfaction was rated in a similar way.

Other data collected such as background of the worker and the client were coded in the normal way and analyzed in terms of bivariate distributions.

The social workers found the methodology stimulating, particularly the use of the video tape recorder. There is a certain positive aspect to research in that it breaks the routine and also suggests to people working in the particular office that the people at higher levels are "interested in them." Many social workers have suggested that a video tape recorder could be used for studying the interview process. In their opinion, they could learn most effectively from reviewing examples of their own interviews.

The possibility of seeing a real interview on a video tape recorder which could show them their own techniques and processes was the main reason, in the opinion of the researcher, for their general acceptance of our research project. Clients were interested to see themselves on video tape as well but their attitude was less professional. Their pleasure was almost childlike, seeing themselves "on T.V.", and some even asked if this would be shown on television. The social workers appeared to be made more nervous by the tape recording. Perhaps this was because they considered the video tape recording to be similar to a performance despite the fact that they were informed this was to be confidential and no one but themselves and the client would review the tape.

There was greater interest on the social worker's part in describing the case and attempting to analyze the relationship when reviewing it with the researcher. At the time of the interviews the social worker seemed more interested in getting through the interview and collecting the data rather than dealing with the client and their relationship.

As a point of policy, clients were not informed during the initial interview if they were eligible for welfare assistance. They often asked the researcher to help them with their demands. Sometimes clients cried after the interview when discussing it with the

researcher because they did not know what was going to happen to them next in terms of their request for assistance and their desperate financial need.

The impression of our researcher, (who was French speaking and comes from a French-Canadian family of several generations) was that the English-speaking recipients were more active and aggressive in their demands for what they considered their rights than were the French-speaking recipients. However, no clients blamed the social worker for lack of information about their eligibility. In general, clients were satisfied with the interview.

### Difficulties Encountered During the Data Collection

This study was conducted at the time that intermittent postal strikes were being carried on. The effect was that many recipients came to the welfare office for their cheques. The welfare office and the system in general were overtaxed by these additional demands which made it difficult for social workers to keep appointments made with our research team. Added to this, the study was made during a popular holiday period and there were greater changes in both client plans and worker plans. All these problems tended to slow down the progress of the data collection.

The translation of the term "alienation" gave us some difficulty and we were forced to eliminate this term from the questionnaire. Mr. Luc Martin suggested using the following expressions; "g no-m l a l'aise", "impuissance", "embarass ". These seemed to better fit the French condition. The word "alienation" is not generally used in Quebec. Clients usually used the word "impuissance" (powerlessness) when describing their feelings.

In the design of the questionnaire we did not leave enough space to record the answers to the last question, "How could the welfare services be improved?." This question brought forward a great many comments and suggestions, from social workers in particular, who were concerned about their work and eager to discuss the problems, challenges and opportunities of the system. The material was collected on extra pieces of paper but it seems important to comment at this point that among the professional staff there was a willingness, even an eagerness, to be involved in discussing ways to improve the system.



## FINDINGS



## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

#### Comparison to Mullen's Study

The Hollis typology has stimulated research for a decade, influencing many studies.

Mullen used this typology in his study examining one-half of the dialogue between the worker and client, namely the communication of the worker. *"While slight variation in definition may exist, these six types of procedures are those considered by most theorists to be basic to the casework counselling process."*

They are:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| A. Sustainment  | <i>"I understand how you feel."</i>                              |
| B. Direct Influence                                       | <i>"You should go to the clinic."</i>                            |
| C. Ventilation-Description-Exploration                    | <i>"How did you feel about it."<br/>"How old were you then?"</i> |
| D. Person-Situation-Reflection                            | <i>"Your reaction to him was unexpected."</i>                    |
| E. Reflection Concerning Personality Patterns or Dynamics | <i>"You expect others to mistreat you."</i>                      |
| F. Reflection Concerning Early Life                       | <i>"You and your father avoided each other."</i>                 |

The balance in the interview (7.3%) was coded as inaudible or technical.

In this study the Hollis-Mullen typology has been used despite the different conditions in the test interview which Mullen studied. Mullen's cases dealt with family counselling, with emphasis on the counselling rather than on the economic or monetary side. Ours were intake interviews in a welfare office. We combined the three types of Reflection in one category.

By using the same typology we were able to examine deviations in our interviews from the norms discovered by Mullen.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF COMMUNICATION CATEGORIES

COMMUNICATION CATEGORIES	MULLEN	QUEBEC
Sustainment	2.7	5.7
Direct Influence	5.2	11.9
Ventilation-Description-Exploration	36.8	65.6
Reflection (combined)	47.9	16.2
Inaudible/Technical	7.3	0.7

The average number of propositions (per time period) in Mullen's work was 197.

The average number of propositions (per time period) in the Quebec study was 132.

In comparison to Mullen's norms, we find the greatest differences in the two following categories of communication:

- Ventilation-description-exploration, which represents the greatest part of social worker-recipient interviews.
- Reflection, which in the Quebec study is about one-third smaller than in Mullen's norms.

*"The procedures identified as sustainments, direct influence and ventilation-description-exploration are assumed to rely upon the strength of the worker-client relationship to achieve their effectiveness. Reflection on personality patterns or dynamics is commonly considered to be at the core of counselling concerned with development of self-understanding."*

When we try to examine the differences between Mullen's norms and the welfare interview, we must still be aware that we study the initial interview (intake) of the client who has financial as well as counselling needs. Despite this fact, one wonders if this interview has too much business character. A low percentage of "reflective" communication suggests that effective counselling took only a small part of worker-client communication.

We can assume that in this type of worker-client interview little communication at a personal level occurs because workers are too busy with forms and facts concerning the economic assistance. Is this a good thing? Does it increase alienation of the client? We will look at other data to try to answer these questions.



## Description of Interview

The average length of interview was 23 minutes representing three basic categories: speaking time, silence and interruptions. The total time spent on individual interviews varied, ranging between 11 minutes and 35 minutes. We note that the average utilization of this time, in terms of its efficiency under the above categories, is as follows:

Spoken time	- 68.3% of total time
Silence	- 28.7% of total time
Interruptions	- 3.0% of total time

The distribution of the amount of spoken time, which might be conceived of as a measure of efficiency of the interview, is given in Table 4.1. Whether or not this is a valid measure of efficiency (since mere talking does not guarantee resolution of human problems) we must be impressed by the variety of utilization of the interview time for interaction between the social worker and the client. After reading their statements it is evident that this period of silence (on the average, almost one-third of the interview) was utilized primarily by the social worker filling out forms. It appears likely that the client would be embarrassed, sitting idle for such a large percentage of the time. Some clients, in fact, mentioned this. Interruptions were generally caused by telephone calls. Even the most elementary book on business methods singles out the discourtesy and harm done to building up rapport if an interview is interrupted by telephone calls, or people coming into the office. Some of the offices where data was collected had a rule that telephone calls were not to be put through while the social worker was interviewing a client, and it would appear that simple operating instructions might help to improve the alienating effect of the initial interview.

It is also possible to examine who talked most during the interview. One might expect that the social worker would dominate the interview and the more passive client would, therefore, have a much smaller proportion of talking time. An analysis suggests this is not the case; in fact,

there is very little difference between the client and the social worker in this respect. Social workers are responsible for 49.6% of the talking time, while recipients are responsible for 50.4%. As outlined in columns 3 and 4 of Appendix B, there is a variation in the relative amount of talking time of social worker and recipient. The relationship of this domination to the client's satisfaction will be explored when hypotheses to the study are tested.

## Exploration of Four Hypotheses

As part of our study plan, we set out four hypotheses which we hoped to confirm or reject as part of our data analysis. Due to the small number of interviews collected and the several categories, plus the disproportionate number of respondents in all categories, it was impossible to test these hypotheses statistically. There is, however, substantial evidence to either support or reject some of these hypotheses. We will describe each in turn and the evidence which we have been able to obtain to either confirm or reject them.

### Hypothesis 1

The Greater the Congruence Between the Recipient  
and Worker Role Perception of the Recipient  
After the Interview, the Greater Similarity of  
Perception of the Worker Role

In Table 4.2, it is evident that in all cases where there is congruence between the recipient and worker role perception of the recipient, there is congruence in the role perception of the worker. This refers to the first row of the table. In the second row of the table, the preponderance of the evidence is in support of the hypothesis. In four out of five cases, where there is incongruence between the role perception of client by worker and recipient, there is congruence in role perception of worker. A detailed breakdown of these perceptions is contained in Appendix C. Due to shortage of funds it was not possible to develop an inter-rater reliability index. However, from the data presented in Table 4.2 there seems to be justification for the hypothesis that if both worker and client share the same perception of the client's role there is good likelihood they will share the same perception of the worker role.

### Hypothesis 2

The Degree of Client's Passivity During the  
Interview Will Be Negatively Related to His  
Satisfaction with the Outcome of the Interview

We rated all interviews and found that 19% were very satisfied with the interview; 73% were satisfied and only

## METHOD





8% were not satisfied with the outcome of the interview. In the final section of this chapter we will discuss the general happiness of the client in terms of the reception he received at the Welfare Department. Suffice it is to say here that most clients, when questioned by a researcher after the interview, were satisfied.

The passivity of the client is measured here in terms of the proportion of time used by the client in speaking, as compared to the proportion used by the social worker. Thus, the amount of silence during the interview did not contaminate these results. We assume that if the client was passive he would utilize half the speaking time.

The results of this analysis are shown in Table 4.3 where the proportion of time above and below 50% is compared with the client's satisfaction at the end of the interview. This table suggests a definite trend in support of this hypothesis. "Very satisfied" clients generally talked more than 50% of the speaking time; while all "not satisfied" clients spoke under 50% of the time. However, the numbers in the cells of the tables were too small to test statistically. It would seem important to allow the client at least half of the air time if he expects to bring about a positive attitude toward his definition and resolution of this problem.

### Hypothesis 3

The Greater the Satisfaction of the Recipient After the Initial Interview, the Higher the Rating of the Social Worker's Ability to Identify the Problem and Come to a Useful Decision About the Course of Action.

We found it impossible to test this hypothesis due to the situation peculiar to the welfare office in which we conducted the research.

The major reason for clients coming to the welfare office of course is to obtain financial assistance due to unemployment, illness or pregnancy. They ask for financial aid usually on a temporary basis. (In fact, 12% of the clients in our study asked for only an interest-free loan.) The attitude of the social worker is consistent with the perception. They think mostly of solutions in terms of granting temporary financial assistance. This severely constricts the social worker's scope for decision-making in terms of course of action open to him in solving any person's problem. Added to this, a

few clients have personal problems. It is obvious from reviewing the tapes that most clients want to talk about their "situation" and are more satisfied with the interview when a social worker shows interest in, and sympathetic understanding of their personal problems. However, the fact remains that to them the agency primarily must make a decision to either give or not to give them money. Since the major characters in this drama, the worker and the recipient, usually share the same perception of what they are there to do, and this role is narrow in terms of what one might imagine would be done by referrals, personal counselling, advice-giving, information giving, etc., we found it impossible to develop a rating scale which would give any degree of usefulness to decision-making or course of action.

An example might help to explain the difficulties we faced in making these ratings. A client presented himself to the interviewer, explained his story and was pleased with the results of this interview. When we explore what went on, we find that he would have liked advice on his relationship with his wife or semi-legal matters such as a lease on an apartment. As in almost all cases, the social worker did not give the client an answer as to whether or not he could give him financial assistance; but the client left the interview with the definite impression that the major problem was to be defined in terms of temporary financial assistance, and the only question was whether it would or would not be granted. He expected to hear about this in a number of weeks. Other cases also expand on the point that most people come to the welfare office for money, and most social workers in the welfare offices see their role as being confined almost exclusively to making decisions about giving money within the limits of legislation. (See Appendix A for a description of each of the cases studied). Whether or not this is too narrow an objective for the Welfare Department, will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter on recommendations for future studies.

#### Hypothesis 4

Congruence Between the Client's and Worker's  
Role Perception of the Client Will Be Posi-  
tively Related to the Degree of Client's Sat-  
isfaction at the End of the Intake Interview

Our results as shown in Table 4.4 suggest a positive trend although again the data does not permit statistical

evaluation of this hypothesis. There does seem to be evidence that if the client and worker agree on the client's role, there is greater probability of client satisfaction at the end of the interview. On the other hand, this may be a superficial test of the hypothesis in that, financial problems are presented as the major reason for the client's first visit to the welfare office. It is not very difficult for social workers to share with the client a similar opinion of his problem. This is documented by the fact that in 81% of the cases studied, there was congruence between the worker and the recipient in terms of perception of the client's problem, as it was generally one of need for financial assistance.

In this respect, our detailed analyses of the cases suggest that two basic types of client problems are presented to the welfare office. The perception on the part of both social worker and client seems to facilitate these two categories:

- A. Strictly financial problems.
- B. Financial plus personal problems.

By looking at four mutually exclusive types of relationships between role perception of the client and the client's satisfaction, we begin to understand sources of alienation in the intake interview.

1. Client and worker consider the client is having strictly financial problems.

ROLE PERCEPTION	TYPE OF PROBLEM	CLIENT'S SATISFACTION			TOTAL
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Not Satisfied	
Congruence	Financial	4	15	--	19

In the summary above, we note that the very satisfied clients have financial problems on a temporary basis. For them the Welfare Department represents the best and most honest type of finance company. They are generally not ashamed of coming to the Welfare Department. For example, one client was temporarily laid-off but his employer promised him early

re-employment. He, therefore, came to the Welfare Department for money to tide him over. Other clients asked only for interest-free loans and expected to pay them back. This, by the way, is an interesting alternative which the Welfare Department might consider as a method to help people who have temporary financial difficulties, with a minimum amount of alienation. Another example was an older woman who was waiting for her old-age pension but, in the meantime, asked the Welfare Department to provide financial aid.

In these rather uncomplicated situations, it appears that the Welfare Department is doing its best job and that recipients are well satisfied with the type of service given.

2. Client and worker consider the client as having financial and personal problems.

ROLE PERCEPTION	TYPE OF PROBLEM	CLIENT'S SATISFACTION			TOTAL
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Not Satisfied	
Congruence	Financial & Personal Problems	1	1	--	2

This type of interview is characterized by higher reflection in the communication categories of Mullen, and perhaps would be seen by social workers as more typical of casework interview.

In analyzing the two cases outlined above, the fact that the client was aware, or could accept his personal problems were factors in his financial problems, was critical; plus the willingness of the worker to deal with personal as well as financial difficulties. Note that this was a relatively infrequent occurrence in the cases we studied.

3. Client considers his problems as strictly financial--worker perceives client with financial and personal problems

ROLE PERCEPTION	TYPE OF PROBLEM	CLIENT'S SATISFACTION			TOTAL
		Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Not Satisfied	
Incongruence	Financial & Personal	1	1	2	4

There is an incongruence between client and worker perception of the client's financial and personal problems. There tends to be less client satisfaction. In this case the worker is often characterized by the client as:

*"Prying into the client's personal affairs."*

In other cases, the worker simply ignores the client's personal problems, although he perceives them.

In the four cases outlined above, the case of the very satisfied client is a special one. The worker was convinced that the client had personal problems but because of a shortage of time he referred only to the financial aid possible through the Welfare Department. The result was that, despite the incongruity of perception of social worker and client, the client was very satisfied because the social worker dealt only with that part of the problem that the client was willing to accept. It is important to note that both of the dissatisfied clients are found in these four cases. This leads to a further conclusion that perhaps dissatisfied clients are not bad. In fact, it may be that the process of alienation for these two people is being reversed by the very fact that the social worker is implying, through his behaviour and questions, that the problem is deeper than just a financial one. This had led



us to speculate on the whole question of causality as it relates to alienation. This will be discussed in the following section. We wish to emphasize that we are not suggesting in this analysis that the satisfied client is the less alienated client, although the concept of what does reduce alienation is a complex one in terms of insight on the one hand, and client satisfaction on the other.

4. Client considers himself as having financial and personal problems - the social worker takes into account only financial problems.

Only one client appears to fall into this category and she was satisfied at the end of the interview.

## Causal Statements

We examined with interest the frequency with which clients used causal statements in their discussion of their problems with the social worker. The implication of this analysis is that, to be able to cope effectively with problems and therefore reduce a feeling of powerlessness, there must be some understanding of cause and effect with respect to the occurrences in a person's life. At this most general level we would suggest that to be able to think in causal terms, is a basic cognitive dimension essential to coping properly with life situations.

The results of our analysis are tentative in the extreme. We have found no other norms with which to compare the performance of our group but are hopeful by presenting this analysis, other investigators will follow and compare the frequency and the nature of the causal statements to outcomes in counselling and general welfare assistance programs. We found that on the average there was a causal statement by a client every fifth minute. Table 4.5 gives a summary of the frequency of the causal statements by the length of the number of minutes spoken by the client. It is difficult to draw conclusions from this finding, but three aspects of these results need to be considered.

1. People sometimes explain things which are causal by direct statements. It is often difficult under these circumstances to know whether the causal relationship is consciously understood or whether it is just a vagary of the context within which the person is describing a situation.

For example, if a client said, "I was having trouble with my wife and trouble holding a job, so I moved from my small town to Montreal," the coder would have difficulty knowing whether the client felt that these troubles in some way would be eradicated by the move. It would take further exploration by the social worker to understand whether or not the person had consciously made a connection between

a series of circumstances leading to marital difficulties, or sporadic employment in the person's location which could be changed by relocating in Montreal. But we must admit it is possible that such a connection could be in the mind of the recipient without his making it explicit. It is our opinion that the very process of making such relationships explicit, through careful mutual examination by both the worker and client, would have a positive effect on reducing alienation. We will explain this position later.

2. Another factor to be considered is, in the initial interview there are severe limitations for the worker-client communication from a problem-solving and insight-developing point of view. The worker is in some sense a prisoner of the forms that he must fill out. This filling out of forms takes at least half the time of the interview. Therefore, if the form does not lend itself to questions such as "Why did you come to Montreal and leave a small town?" the respondent is not encouraged to make "because" statements.
3. Finally, there is another explanation for the fact that few causal statements were found (if, in fact, few were found). We would have to have a norm established in other types of counselling and problem-solving interviews to ascertain whether there were few relatively speaking; but it does appear from a review of the data that there was little attention given to trying to understand the relationships or the why's in the client's life. Perhaps the infrequent causal statements made by the client reflect his tendency to avoid causal thinking or his inability to frame his problems in this way. Perhaps for clients the world is not a causal but a fortuitous arena where little or no freewill exists.

This of course gets to a very basic philosophical issue but one that seems important from the point of view of alienation. If the client feels that he has little control over

what happens in his life and in fact, does not even embrace the concept that his actions can have an impact on future results, he must feel more alienated and at sea than a person who is convinced that his actions can bring about one or another end results in his life space. It would seem that the ability to figure out the cause of their misery is posited on the very fact that they assume there are causes. Some of the clients, not only in the Quebec study but in the studies we conducted in Manitoba and British Columbia, gave a strong impression that life goes on in a very mechanical way and that things "just happen to them." This must give a feeling of powerlessness and desperation to those who find themselves in unfortunate circumstances. On the other hand, it must be argued that because of their personal abilities and their position in the social structure, many clients are to a great extent, powerless. Their lack of ability to change things is augmented by rules and regulations of the welfare system and the way the labour market operates, as well as social and political mores of the community.

However, it does seem to be important to look at this basic predisposition or philosophy of life of the clients, and the work that is done by social workers to shape this attitude. If I were to use an interview with a social worker to explore the elements in my life problem, I would first begin to sort out those things over which I have control and those over which I do not have control. This would give me a sense of reality and at the same time, some conviction about my degree of power in the situation. The next step might be to formulate a plan to carry out certain types of activities around those things over which I do have some control. This could range from obtaining information about jobs or training or other services, through to initiating a course of personal action which would help me achieve my goals. In all these deliberations, my goal should be clearly stated and I should be helped to enunciate how I can measure my progress towards them. This then would give the social worker and I an opportunity to review my progress and to analyze how much control and discretion I do have to alleviate an unsatisfactory personal situation.

While we have been able to present only the more preliminary data with respect to this problem, it appears to us, from merely counting up the "because" statements in the interviews, that the practice of social work counselling in the Welfare Department might be materially enhanced if the concept of causality and the very straightforward practice of establishing objectives and measuring progress were undertaken. We will deal more fully with this question in one of our recommendations for future study.

## General Comments

### Being On Welfare is a Sin

The client has committed two of the greatest sins in Canadian society; he is idle, he is broke. There is no apparent difference between Quebec and what one might expect to find in Toronto. There is something to be ashamed of if a man is not working or if he is without money. There are other societies which would not think of poverty or idleness as a crime but people on welfare in Montreal feel ashamed. As several social workers said,

*"I think this is rather degrading for a man. He is 37 and he is out of work. We must find him a job soon because it is a bad thing."*

The previous remark documents that even the social workers regard living on a welfare cheque as something shameful. On the other hand, clients experience a strong feeling of powerlessness. The situation is beyond their control; there is nothing they can do about their shameful predicament. Clients share a fatalism about the job market.

It is interesting that in such a predicament the client's hostility is directed toward the system rather than toward the social worker. In none of the cases studied does the client accuse the social worker if something happens that he does not like. For example, a women says,

*"Here I am getting less money because my father is allowing me to stay at home. If my father had thrown me out when he found out that I was having a child and was not married, I would be getting more money."*



### Ignorance of Recipients

There is a complete lack of information by the public about welfare. People come totally uninformed and unprepared. They do not even have basic information about forms required, such as birth certificates, etc. It follows that the clients know very little about their right to receive welfare.

### Great Resistance to Seek Assistance

There is strong evidence about the traumatic state of the clients when they arrived at the interview. They obviously felt it was a last resort and were desperate. One-third of the clients were urged or forced to go to the welfare office by their wives or neighbours. They came in literal fear, trembling. Sometimes their extreme level of anxiety was visible or was audible when they spoke on the video tape.

Many of the clients state for example, that they only came as a last resort, that they should have come six months ago. This complicates the social worker's job. There is evidence of extreme stress caused by delay in coming to the welfare office. This complicates the rehabilitation process because if the client has delayed four or five months, he builds up bills. He is ashamed of these bills, feels disorganized and this has to be dealt with by the worker. One feels that a better public information service on the part of the Welfare Department might bring some of these clients into the office earlier where counselling and small cash payments would circumvent the build-up of more desperate needs.

### Welfare Worker as an Instrument of the Law

The social worker is an instrument of the law. He is simply carrying out a law passed by somebody higher up. At the same time, if only from the details given, he is interpreting the law and making decisions himself. When he cannot give assistance to somebody, he can always shelter behind the higher authority, of course. This is a paradox of a typical situation. He is both an instrument and a decision maker. He has to say to the

client,

*"You have the right to welfare. You should not be ashamed to come here. The country provides this for people who are in trouble."*

But he also has to say,

*"You should not come back. You must do something to solve your problems so that you will not have to come back to welfare."*

The social worker has to say to the client,

*"You have no need to be afraid. Simply tell me the trouble you are in and we will do everything we can to help you."*

Then later in his private reflections to the inquirer, he admits he should say,

*"Do not come back again unless it is absolutely necessary."*

Reading the social workers' comments one is struck by the private reflections about the clients' characteristics. The first thing the social worker always says is,

*"Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ obviously is not a liar."*

*"I like the look of this man. He is not going to become a chronic case on welfare."*

There must be a background of abuse, and lying if most of the social workers say about clients,

*"This man seems to be telling the truth."*

The assumption is there are people on welfare who are not.

It is clear that the social worker is working under a handicap in the sense that he has to assess whether or not the client is abusing the system.

### Pressures Not to Tell the Truth

Naturally the client is aware of this situation. During the interview, the social worker and recipient have to be on guard -- there is evidence of real tension. In a number of cases this tension was created by very simple and inoffensive questions such as, "What are the ages of your children?" "Have you got your social insurance number?" Two clients were apparently sent into complete panic by these questions and were embarrassed by their own ignorance.

The client fears he may say something that might affect the size of his cheque. It is not the actual intimacy of which he is afraid. In some cases, problems need to be discussed at greater length but the client is wary of saying the wrong thing -- for good reason. For instance, the woman who got less money because she was living with her parents would have received more money had she lied and said she was living alone. This is why the client is on the defensive with regard to personal relationships.

It is possible for the person who tells the truth to come out worse than the one who lies. There is considerable evidence that the law itself (that is, the form they fill out) could encourage people to lie. Some of the more obviously alienated clients were more alienated for the simple reason that they had told the truth and had suffered thereby. Knowing other people are lying and getting away with larger cheques could retard the rehabilitative process. The outstanding example of this was a woman who admitted that her children were bringing in \$165.00 per month. This is beyond the basic rate she would have received had she been on welfare. The social worker tried to explain, very patiently, that she was already getting more than she would on welfare and therefore, she was not entitled to anything. The client's comment was, "This was charity, not a guaranteed income." Perhaps her sons would get girlfriends and not go on providing this income; and she would have been better off with half that money on a secure basis. She would have in fact been better off because in the social worker's private comments to our researcher she said, "I always make a point of believing the clients, even if they are making false statements. The rates are so low, one could not live on them." More than one social worker said this. Assuming this to be the operating rule of

thumb -- if the woman had halved the contribution of her six children, she would have gone out with a cheque. By telling the truth, she deprived herself of any benefits from welfare.

Certainly we cannot blame the social worker for trying to be open and generous. The fault is with the system. People do not have the rules clearly spelled out; some appear to be getting punished for not knowing the system.

### Resentment of Personal Probing

Clients are nervous about questions which deal with their relationships with other people. For example a client had to telephone her employer to find out her social insurance number. She called her employer by his first name. Immediately she was embarrassed and wondered what the social worker thought because she knew her employer on a first name basis.

Many clients are sensitive to questions about family life; how much they get from their ex-husband, or how much they get from their mother. In one case the woman specifically resented questions about her husband. She was separated; she did not want to have anything to do with her husband. The social worker had asked where he lived, had he a job and did he pay her any money? Perhaps the worker perceived the resultant tension and turned his questions to the neighbour who had persuaded her to come. The worker then tried to ease the tension by talking about life in general, problems in their particular part of town and his own situation. The client resented this and said so. While it was nice of the social worker to talk to the neighbour, it was her own case that was being discussed and not the neighbour's. So the worker could not win -- if he probed, he was being indiscreet; if he kept his distance, he was not showing interest.

We find a marked divergence between social workers in the degree in which they do probe into family backgrounds. They made contradictory statements about this tricky issue.

*"I always try to get a picture of the family background because this enables me to arrive at a proper judgment and possibly help the client."*

Another time the same worker will say,

*"This had nothing to do with the case and I did not want to get involved in that, so I changed the subject."*

One example of how difficult it is to handle personal information was afforded by the victim of a murder attempt who was still full of bullet holes and could not work. He came along and naturally wanted to tell his story, which had been in the papers. He was very offended because the social worker did not seem at all interested in the gory details. The client felt that the worker should know the background and details about the people who tried to shoot him. The worker simply changed the subject and said,

*"As soon as I knew he could not work (it was evident that he could not) that was all he needed to tell; I did not have to know anything about who had shot him and why."*

Perhaps part of the resentment around discussing personal problems arises because the value system of the social worker is at variance with the client's. For example, two clients who had various forms of family difficulties came up against a worker who felt that the families ought to be closer knit, helping each other more. One client had come from a small town with her children but did not have a job. The worker immediately embarked on what she called a 'lecture' about the advisability of staying in a small town until she could find a job in Montreal. She advised her to either go home to her family or to lean on her sister.

When reviewing the tape with our researcher the worker said,

*"I think this was the right kind of advice because we ought to tighten these family bonds. I think if anything appears in a survey like this, one of the things that appears in general, is that the family bonds for most of these people seem very loose."*



In viewing the case one could see that to have the bonds tightened is the last thing most clients want; particularly women who are unmarried and have children. They do not want to be told by a social worker that they should go back to mother, or that their sister should do something for them -- they have a very strong sense of independence and want to have it respected.

### Paperwork

Clients are very often annoyed with the forms, which have to be filled in during the initial interview. In two cases clients did not understand what the social worker's objectives were until they reviewed the interview again on the video tape. In these cases the forms appeared to get in the way of communicating. Social workers say they cannot do their job properly because they are doing clerical work up to 50% of the time. We have already commented on the amount of time which was not used to communicate during the interview. Presumably much of this was spent in filling out forms. One worker's comments are typical,

*"I know the client is wondering what I am writing down. He is nervous already, and my being here makes him more nervous."*

So most of the workers say they would like to have more clerical staff and help to allow them to do their proper job of interviewing.

### Incidents of Alienation

When we examine the 26 interviews in our study, we find that incidence of alienation pointed out by clients after the interviews has two causes:

1. Social workers' questions about client's personal relationships with other people.
2. The forms which have to be filled in.



## Temporary Problems

Social workers considered most clients in the welfare office to be temporary cases. They use the word "depannage," which is a motoring term meaning a temporary repair to get people back on the road again. The frequency of this word, ("depannage") is significant because both the client and the social worker, particularly the latter, see welfare as a temporary repair job. The short term perspective of the problem as seen through the worker's eyes is illustrated in his attitude to employment. In none of the cases did the social worker give any advice on employment. When the social workers were commenting on the disadvantages for the client they often said,

*"Indeed, he is quite right that the job market in the docks is very bad."*

However, they never said,

*"I wonder why Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ does not do this or that."*

Many workers complained about the services offered by Canada Manpower. For example, one of the clients had taken three adult retraining courses, in the area of mechanics, diesel maintenance, driving - but he could not get a job. First of all, he had to make a statement about which trade he was presently interested in there was only space for one trade on the form and he had qualified for three. In the second place, he was 23 years old and could not get the kind of job for which he had been trained because one had to be 25 to drive a public service vehicle. The worker who related the story was furious, telephoned Manpower and asked why they trained this man three times for jobs they knew he was unqualified to fill.

The result is that the social worker finds himself strategically in the middle of what should be an integrated social service. In fact, it is simply an office for helping people financially on a temporary basis. The worker continually faces people with very complex problems. In some cases there are important

legal implications -- the woman who would like to get her children back from in-laws; people who have worked and not received their salary; a former employer has gone bankrupt and the client does not know where to get legal aid. All these issues clearly take a considerable amount of time to be explored. They require local as well as specialized knowledge. The system is just not set up to deal with this.

Several workers confirmed this observation:

*"The lack of specialized treatment - specialized services - specialized people in the office. The fact that cases were of different degrees of gravity. Some demanded a morning, some five minutes, some were pure paperwork and others were fundamentally complicated problems, and these should be treated in a different way - they should be flexible."*

Perhaps in offices in other parts of the country there is sufficient flexibility to deal with these problems in an adequate manner. But many of these social workers did not feel they had the needed flexibility in their office. The sheer demand for service often precluded flexible social work. Some workers had case loads of more than 400 clients.

Despite all these problems some clients confirm, that this situation in welfare is better now than in the past. A number of clients said they applied five years ago when it was much more unfriendly and anonymous. People filled out forms all day. Everyone felt hopeless. Now it is much more friendly. The social worker offers them a coffee or a cigarette. They say,

*"Well I heard some bad things about 'bien-etre', (about welfare) but now I would recommend anyone coming here rather than going to a finance company or their relatives to borrow some money."*

Social workers paid great attention to the last question referring to the improvement of the welfare system. Some of their suggestions are included in our recommendations.

TABLE 4.1

EFFICIENCY OF THE INTERVIEW TIME  
(Distribution by Spoken Time)

PERCENTAGE OF SPOKEN TIME	NUMBER OF INTERVIEW
40-45%	1
46-50%	2
51-55%	3
56-60%	1
61-65%	3
66-70%	3
71-75%	3
76-80%	5
81-85%	3
86-90%	1
91-95	1
	—
Total	26

TABLE 4.2

CONGRUENCE OF ROLE PERCEPTION OF WORKER AND CLIENT  
AFTER INTAKE INTERVIEW

ROLE PERCEPTION	CONGRUENCE BETWEEN CLIENT & WORKER ROLE PERCEPTION OF WORKER		INCONGRUENCE BETWEEN CLIENT & WORKER ROLE PERCEPTION OF WORKER		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Congruence between client and worker role perception of client	21	80.7	-	-	21	80.7
Incongruence between client and worker role perception of client	1	3.9	4	15.4	5	19.3
Total	22	84.6	4	15.4	26	100.0

TABLE 4.3

DISTRIBUTION OF CLIENT SATISFACTION WITH INTERVIEW  
(Based on Client Passivity During the Interview)

PASSIVITY OF CLIENT % OF TIME SPOKEN BY CLIENT	CLIENT SATISFACTION			TOTAL
	VERY SATISFIED	SATISFIED	NOT SATISFIED	
Up to 49%	1	11	2	14
50% and more	5	7	-	12
	—	—	—	—
Total	6	18	2	26

TABLE 4.4

DISTRIBUTION OF CLIENT SATISFACTION WITH INTERVIEW  
(Based on Client and Worker Role Perception of Client)

CLIENT AND WORKER ROLE PERCEPTION OF CLIENT	CLIENT SATISFACTION							
	VERY SATISFIED		SATISFIED		NOT SATISFIED			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Congruence	5	19.3	16	61.4	-	-	21	80.7
Incongruence	1	3.9	2	7.7	2	7.7	5	19.3
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	6	23.2	18	69.1	2	7.7	26	100.0

TABLE 4.5

DISTRIBUTION OF CAUSAL STATEMENTS ON TALKING TIME OF INTERVIEW

SPOKEN TIME IN MINUTES	NUMBER OF CAUSAL STATEMENTS						TOTAL	
	0-2	3-5	6-8	9-11	12-14	15-17	N	%
Up to 5	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3.9
6-10	2	-	-	1	-	-	3	11.5
11-15	1	4	2	-	-	1	8	30.6
16-20	-	3	2	2	3	-	10	38.6
21-25	-	1	3	-	-	-	4	15.4
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total No.	4	8	7	3	3	1	26	100.0
Total %	15.4	30.6	27.1	11.5	11.5	3.9		





## RECOMMENDATIONS



## CHAPTER V

### RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 1. Provide Clients with More Information

There appears to be three areas in which the provision of more information to the client would not only reduce his alienation but would also increase the efficiency of the welfare service. First of all, printed material should be available which tells clients the kind of information required from them in order to process their requests for welfare. Birth certificates and legal documents about divorce are examples.

Secondly, basic information about other services related to the frequent needs of clients should be available in a short, well-written form. This relates to employment opportunities and compensation for unemployment, as well as the rules and regulations relating to old-age pensions and compensation for injuries.

Finally, all clients should be given basic information with respect to their rights and privileges under the welfare system. This information should not only be available in welfare offices; it would appear that a public information program for areas with a higher incidence of welfare requests would help sensitize people to the process available to them. This would result in a more intelligent and mature use of the service and would make clients aware of their rights, privileges and the limitations of the system. Clients would be more in control when they appear and therefore, less alienated by the initial experience of applying for welfare.

#### 2. Re-Conceptualize the Public Welfare Function

While this study has been limited in its perspective, there appears to be a basic need for a rethinking of

the welfare office in terms of its central position for referral to ancillary services rather than a stop-gap financial aid service. The question that must be answered is whether the welfare system is truly designed to rehabilitate people, or whether its function is only to provide short-term cash with the hope that people will not come back. This second objective seems to be short-sighted; but a study of the two approaches to welfare would appear useful to assess which is most effective.

In one case, the welfare office functions as they presently exist, would be carried out. Here clients would receive cash assistance if they qualified. In the second experimental office, a complex sorting process would be undertaken which would recognize that specialized services are required if true rehabilitation is to occur. This type of program is symbolized by the drawing in Figure 5.1. Clients would come to the office with a wide range of problems, and a case aid would meet and assist them in filling out an application. This application form is designed to sort out the kinds of problems faced by the client, what he expects from the welfare office, and to give some indication of his perception of the client role. Once the form has been completed, the applicant is taken to a social worker with above average capabilities in terms of interviewing and diagnosing complex problems. It would be the responsibility of this worker to channel clients to specialized workers in various areas. By a skillful interview the social worker would be able to identify not only the present problem but also latent problems (perhaps unknown to the recipient but important in the development of a plan for rehabilitation). In the four boxes to the right, we present possible specialized services in the welfare office itself. People who deal with work problems (a common reason for applying for welfare) and who have active and continuous liaison with Manpower offices and sheltered work situations, would effect a transfer of the person to an agency which specialized in

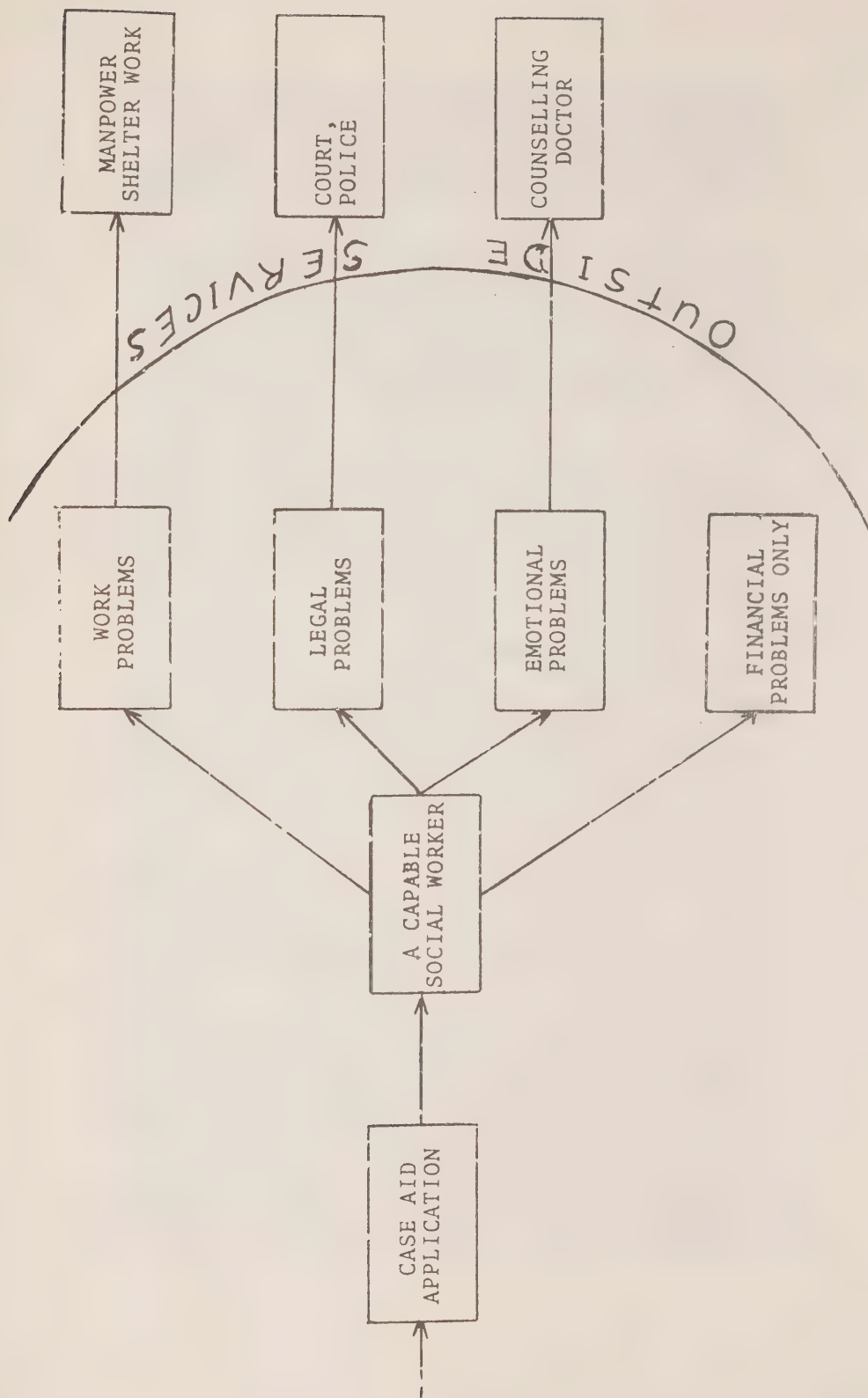


Figure 5.1 Welfare Office Conceived as a Rehabilitation - Coordinating Function.



assistance for the particular type of problem. The same thing would be true of the worker specializing in legal problems, emotional problems, and finally, workers who would do nothing but deal with people who have simple financial problems.

From our experience, there is a large group of people who can benefit purely and simply by financial assistance where educational counselling or specialized information is not needed. It is implicit in this model that follow-up and constant liaison with outside community resources would be paramount.

In summary then, the welfare office is seen not as a stop-gap procedure for helping people through a difficult period, but as a diagnostic and rehabilitative service which sorts out human problems and ensures that the proper types of assistance (be they financial, informational or therapeutic) are available.

### 3. More Efficient Administration of Welfare

In the conduct of this study, it was resourceful to look at the welfare system from a very narrow but rather intensive point of view and one is left with the implication that those working in the system are working extremely hard in trying to be as efficient as possible. There certainly is no evidence from our investigation that there are not major improvements being made. People are fully occupied and in fact, overworked in carrying out their activities. However, the fact remains that an overall questioning of procedure strategies and *raison d'etre* of the welfare office seems to be lacking.

In addition, there appears to be a notable lack of good communication up and down in the system. Workers we dealt with and office administrators were eager to talk with us and gave many suggestions for improving the system. At the present time, there does not appear to be an open avenue for collecting and transmitting these suggestions to policy makers. While there is a constant attempt to try to become more efficient

within the present structure, there seems to be little doubt expressed about whether the system is feasible and in fact, optimal for achieving the major objectives. One might even question whether these objectives have been clearly stated in measurable terms. For example, whether the welfare office should function as a rehabilitation service or a money granting agency. Also, the question of who should fill out forms, and what is the real use of the forms in terms of the ultimate objectives of the office. These are translated into less important operating issues but they do have an impact on the alienation of the client.

We have described in the body of this report how telephone calls and interruptions can alienate people during an interview. We have described how the application form itself might be more diagnostic if the objectives of the Welfare Department were more clearly stated. It would appear that to spend time trying to change small, procedural details without re-examining and exploring the whole purpose of public welfare would be wasteful. Once the objectives have been clearly stated it would seem that an overhaul of administrative policies and procedures could follow, resulting in a more efficient delivery of services to clients and at the same time minimizing alienation.

#### 4. Causal Statement

We have described in the Findings section a promising and interesting question of whether clients need to be taught to think of their problems in terms of relationship of cause and effect. By developing a type of casework approach which would start with having the worker and client define the objectives on which they agree (thereby removing any ambiguity in terms of perception of each other's role in the process), the worker and the client would be forced to think more in terms of cause and effect. Once the objectives were defined, it would be possible to state strategies in measurable terms which would allow both the worker and the recipient to identify progress as it was being made.

This in itself would be a major step towards reducing alienation. It would have the profound effect of helping the recipient begin to think about his problems in ways that could be generalized to problem-solving strategies in other areas and later stages of his life.

In other words, this process could have an educative as well as a rehabilitative function. A study should be undertaken in which workers attempt to move the client toward such a problem-definition and objective-setting procedure, and the results should be compared to the more traditional type of welfare interview which is focused on information-getting and adjudication of the person's rights to welfare assistance.

#### 5. "Money Giving" and "Counselling" Separated

There would appear to be major psychological and administrative advantages in separating the "money giving" and "counselling" functions in a welfare office. The fact that people are unable to discuss their problems in a truly open and frank way when they realize that the person listening can increase or decrease the amount of money given inhibits any frank exploration of the problem (let alone a rehabilitative outcome) from these interviews. It would appear that the money giving function could be operated on an almost computer-based or automatic set of decision criteria. We could conceive of a simple computer program or hand point system being developed where a person would fill in answers on a card which could be immediately adjudicated in 90% of the cases. The next step would be to make decisions about the remaining 10% of the more complicated cases and to get on with the question of discussing the real problems behind their financial needs. This then would be the legitimate role of the caseworkers in the agency.

6. Allow Clients to Pay Back Financial Assistance Given

It is interesting that several clients in this study wanted assistance only in the nature of a loan. From the point of view of reducing alienation it would appear that such a service should be possible. Therefore, if a citizen wishes assistance and realizes it is his right, it would seem he should be able to repay a portion of that assistance if he can and wishes to do so. Certainly the opportunity to repay appears to have a rehabilitative connotation in the case of many clients. It allows them to preserve their dignity and self-respect.

7. Aggressive Welfare System

In reviewing cases contained in this report, there appears to be some evidence to support the argument that the welfare system would be more efficient if it were more aggressive. By that we mean it may be less expensive, in terms of human and financial costs, to look for problems which are imminent rather than wait passively for people to drag themselves in desperation to the welfare office. It has been a revelation in this study to realize that a large proportion of people come to the welfare office in desperation and obvious, acute anxiety, after waiting for long periods of time and trying to utilize every other source for sustenance. By delaying the provision of service the situation may become much more difficult to remedy. The cost of delayed treatment may be much greater than the cost of detection and early action. Just as in the medical model, the maxim, *"an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure"*, may apply to welfare service.

If we could disabuse ourselves of the opinion that people should not get welfare because most of them are liars and lazy, and look at it as a social illness needing to be diagnosed and remedies prescribed, we might be more aggressive about seeking out the source of this illness and eradicating it in its milder stages rather than waiting for chronic and severe cases to drag themselves into the welfare office. Research into the costs and effectiveness of aggressive case finding, compared to regular welfare practice, should be carried out.



This would require extensive conceptualization of the whole welfare system which would include programs such as Head Start in the United States, with nursery schools, educative, medical and mental health programs being closely joined to the welfare, manpower and police services. Undoubtedly some combination of these services which reaches out into the community and helps people before they are completely destitute, is worth experimenting with under an action research format.

#### 8. What Is A Social Worker's Role?

The worker finds himself in a strategic and stressful position within the welfare delivery system. It appears from the data collected in this study, that most workers align themselves with the client and attempt to achieve the best results for him from the system. At the present time, there is little guidance available to the social worker in terms of how he can judge his performance. Some may be confused and think that it could be judged in terms of the amount of money given -- the less the better. What position is he to take? There is the system and his role as administrator of the system on the one hand, and vis-a-vis the client and his wish to be a positive figure for people undergoing severe personal tragedy.

In essence this means that the social worker in many cases becomes alienated from the system because he aligns himself with the client. We have been asked in this study to depict the difference between the alienation of the recipient and the position of the worker, and it is strange to have to report that many social workers are themselves even more severely alienated than clients. The social worker gets very little out of the first interview -- either the case is routine and dull (that is, it is simply a matter of filling out a form and someone else mailing out the cheque), or it is complicated and beyond the social worker's competence or area of authority in the structure of the system. A rehabilitative service for a particular client would require spending more time or more money than the agency allowed, or would mean transferring him to another agency (often not a characteristic role for workers in the social welfare system). Most of the social

workers use the term "depannage" which is a motoring term meaning temporary repair to get people back on the road again. It is suggested that workers see their role as a temporary repair job and this in itself can be discouraging and alienating. It appears necessary to define more clearly not only the function of the welfare office but the role of the social worker, so that he can judge his performance and know when the results he is achieving are closely aligned to those set out by his superiors in the Department.

#### 9. A Sense of Shame

The client comes for the first interview with a background of tension and stress. He is ashamed of coming at all. This is evident from the majority of cases that we reviewed on video tape. However, there seems to be an implication in the comments of the social worker and the attitude of the general public that most people going to the welfare office are lazy and "trying to get something for nothing." This only increases the debilitating sense of shame which must add greatly to personal alienation. The very fact that one must come to the welfare office alienates him from the vast working public. Many of the clients reviewed in this study were able to state how difficult it was to come for the first time and ask for money after having spent a lifetime providing for themselves as normal citizens. This attitude must be understood by the social worker; the shame must be understood by the social worker; the shame and self-doubt must be dealt with as consciously and directly as the actual financial assistance.

The first step towards doing this would be to review the types of questions asked of clients to make sure that they are necessary, and ensure that shame and personal self-doubt are kept to a minimum.

The next step would be to develop a routine for the workers to follow which would alleviate these characteristics and allow the worker and the client to sit down in a problem-solving fashion to talk about what could be done, free from the complications of moralizing and social criticism. An operational study



should be undertaken which follows the client from the point of entering the office to the point where he gets financial assistance or, in cases where it is necessary, referral to other types of assistance. Every incident should be isolated that could enhance personal shame and self-doubt and therefore, increase alienation. The application of the welfare system is intended to strengthen people, not add to their burdens and break them down further. It serves no useful purpose to the community or to the person asking for assistance to push him further away from the mainstream by implying that he is dishonest, lazy or incompetent. While this may not be consciously in the minds of the workers in welfare offices, it is projected on to them by many of the people coming for assistance and efforts must be made to eradicate this impression.

#### 10. Fast Feedback to Applicants

At the present time it is not the practice of the social workers in the welfare offices to tell the client at the conclusion of his initial interview whether or not he will be receiving welfare assistance. In fact, there is a conscious effort not to comment on this so that demands will not be made on people who are preparing cheques for recipients. While this may be a convenience for the office staff, it appears to enhance the alienating effect of applying for welfare. It would appear that being told at the conclusion of the interview whether or not you qualified for welfare (or the probability of receiving assistance) would be a major step towards reducing tension and helping the person plan his future. We would recommend a short study to compare the effects of immediate feedback to the client of his probability of getting assistance, compared to the present system. This study should examine the effects on clients, social workers, and the system which produces the cheques.

APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF CASES



1.

### Situation

Miss \_\_\_\_\_, age 21, is an epileptic, and for two years she has been taking epileptic fits regularly in spite of medication. She cannot hold a regular job and has recently been laid off from work. Her doctor has stipulated that she take at least one month's rest. She does not think she will ever be able to work again on a steady basis and would much prefer to obtain permanent assistance. Her family does not want to keep her any longer because of her continuous attacks.

### Role Perception

Miss \_\_\_\_\_ feels that her handicap gives her the right to financial assistance and, without insisting, she would prefer that this be permanent. She would like to have an immediate answer. She says she is happy with the interview with the welfare agent. According to her, the role of the agent is to undertake the most favourable actions with the object of providing her with financial assistance because of her particular situation.

The welfare agent does not think financial assistance will be accorded her on a permanent basis unless a medical certificate declares her completely unable to work. He fears that this young woman would come to depend permanently on welfare under the pretext of her epilepsy.

## Situation

Mr. — is immobilized for four months due to two shots which he received in the leg from a carabine 22 rifle. He had his assailant arrested and is pursuing the case but the latter is the father of eight children and is on welfare himself. Mr. — was working as a day-labourer in a construction camp and will begin work as soon as his leg heals. He has several doctor's bills to pay. This is the first time that he has appealed for assistance and he affirms that it is necessary due to his particular circumstances.

## Role Perception

His immobilization is temporary. He knows that if he gets a repayment for his injuries, which he doubts very much because of his aggressor's situation, he will have to pay back the Welfare Department the money it issues him. He feels he has a complete right to such assistance from the Welfare, more than certain people he knows personally who are on welfare and who are defrauding the Welfare.

He says that he is pleased with the interview with the service agent. The role of the latter is to make detailed inquiries into the resources and needs of people who make appeals for assistance. He prefers that any enquiry be made in an expeditious manner, however. The social service agent should not waste time on questions concerning the private life of the client.

### Situation

3. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ has been unemployed for one month. He is single, age 23 and has grade 9 education. He registered at the Manpower Centre two years ago, where he took a course in apprentice-mechanics. After completing the course, Manpower Centre did not have a job to offer him, so he took another course as machine operator. Again he was unable to find work. He has just finished a truck driver's course given by the Manpower Centre. He declares that for the last month he has been reporting to the Manpower Centre and going around himself to all the small transport companies, without any success in finding employment. He is completely without finances.

### Role Perception

His situation appears to him to be temporary. He is appealing to Welfare to provide for his immediate needs (pension, transportation) in order to make it easier to obtain employment. He is convinced he will find a job soon.

He declares he is pleased with the interview with the welfare agent who, according to him, should be understanding and receptive.

4.

### Situation

Miss \_\_\_\_\_, aged 60, is arthritic. She did housework four hours a day and lived on a weekly salary of \$35.00. She is boarding with a niece. She has never made any appeal for assistance before; her medical expenses are very high. She came to the Welfare Office to get an Invalid's Pension until such time as she is eligible for the Old Age Pension.

### Role Perception

Miss \_\_\_\_\_ told the social worker that she considers herself very brave for having succeeded up until now in getting along all alone. She was explicit in saying she well deserves the financial aid she came to ask for. She expects nothing else but financial assistance. She is pleased with the interview. She feels the worker should indicate what action she should take to obtain assistance.



5.

### Situation

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ left his job as manager of a collection company a month and a half ago. His boss refused to pay him his last three weeks' pay. He requested the services of a lawyer to follow up the matter in court. He says it is extremely difficult to find a job during the summer when unemployment is prevalent. He does not have the right to unemployment insurance and is entirely broke. He is asking for a loan while waiting for payment from his past employer for the three weeks' salary due him.

### Role Perception

His situation, according to him, is completely temporary. He is continuously trying to find employment and says that because of his particular situation he has real need of welfare. He is happy about his relationship with the welfare service agent. He feels the agent's job is to enquire into his resources and that this responsibility is well carried out without too much distrust.

6.

#### Situation

Mr.—— is a transport forwarding agent. For five months now he has not received a contract. Because he worked for himself he was not eligible for unemployment insurance payments. He and his wife went to the Welfare Office without any resources, overwhelmed with debts (rent, food, truck). Recently their six children helped to contribute by gathering scrap iron and old ropes which they sold to dealers. They tried everything to get along without asking for financial assistance. Mr.—— believes that the election time (April) harmed his work considerably, and hopes to get a transport contract this summer. Mrs.—— would have liked an immediate reply to their appeal for assistance.

#### Role Perception

Mr. and Mrs.—— feel very humiliated in having to appeal for social assistance. For them it is a mark of failure. Although their situation seemed urgent to them, they waited until the last minute before asking for assistance and were disappointed not to receive an immediate answer. They said they were pleased with their interview with the social service agent. In their opinion there are so many people receiving welfare who do not deserve it that it is important for the welfare service agent to enquire into the resources and needs of the applicants.

## Situation

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, age 19, finished the pre-trade course at Manpower Centre on July 10. Since then he has been unemployed, which has caused a three-week delay in the payment of his pension. An orphan since the age of 11, without brothers or sisters, he has been placed in homes by the Welfare Dept. Having left school in the seventh grade, he has never held a steady position until he undertook the courses offered by Manpower. He is waiting for the results of his exams in order to register in a mechanics course in October.

## Role Perception

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ declares that the unemployment situation, which is so grave at the present time, prevents him from finding work. He defines his position as that of a temporary client until his course starts again in October. In his opinion he is only making use of a government service that is essential in a period of unemployment.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ says he is fairly pleased with the interview with the welfare agent. He feels that information should be obtained on a client's activities to determine his eligibility for welfare assistance, and it is the welfare agent's responsibility and right to obtain this information.

## Situation

Miss —, 18 years of age and mother of an 18 months old baby, has been married for several months to the father since his release from prison. She is living temporarily with her parents. Without news of her husband, she left the apartment where she was living and with the help of her family moved her personal belongings. Her baby is at present with her brother-in-law, who is refusing her access to his home. With the help of her mother she brought a lawsuit against her husband for refusing to support her. She wants to again take charge of her child whose health has been greatly affected by the continual changes. She hopes to get divorced when she is 21.

## Role Perception

Miss — expected immediate aid in the form of a grant for food and lodging. She knows she is in a precarious situation and puts the responsibility for this on her age. Never having worked and without any schooling or trade, she feels that the Welfare Department has a responsibility towards her. She thought the welfare agent would provide lodging for her and take the necessary actions to help her look after her child.

Miss — is fairly dissatisfied with the interview with the welfare agent.

For Miss —, the role of the agent is to place at the disposition of the client the means he or she lacks in order to live decently. She refuses him any intervention or advice concerning her private life. The agent should attend to the needs which are exposed to him, in accordance with the norms of existence at the time (eg. lodging, food).

Mrs.——, came to the Welfare office very upset by several days' delay in receiving her monthly cheque. She attributed the delay to the fact that she had lodging which was too expensive. Registered at the Welfare Department in Montreal, she had just moved from a fairly deteriorated area of the city to the outskirts. She thought the Welfare Department would penalize her for this move but in fact it was only a matter of a change in address which made it necessary to open a new record and to consider her as a new recipient.

### Role Perception

Mrs.——, a widow for eight years, has been registered at the Welfare Department for four years. She thought that since she was receiving payments, it was necessary for her to give an account of her decisions. Therefore she came, convinced that she would have to justify the reason for moving and would be obliged to follow the directives of the Welfare Department in this matter. She felt she had gone beyond her rights and had thus committed a fraud. She was also convinced that her situation would have to remain stagnant in order to continue to be considered as eligible. Mrs.—— considers the role of the social welfare agent to be not only one of responding to appeals for financial assistance, but also of encouraging and showing sympathy and kindness towards the recipients. She declared herself to be very pleased with her interview with the social welfare agent.

The welfare service agent considers that the role of the person receiving assistance is to try in every possible way to better his situation (except in cases of physical or mental handicaps) and that social assistance must be considered as a temporary and partial aid. The role of the welfare agent is to encourage all possible initiatives on the part of those being assisted. He must be concerned with the rehabilitation of the client and encourage him to augment his budget, either by looking after children or by any other part-time job.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ is 60 years of age. His leg has been in a cast for five weeks, following an accident on the job. He is a warehouse keeper with the railroad. He has not received any remuneration during the five weeks and is still waiting for his payments from the Workmen's Compensation Board. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ declares that he only has \$10.00 left. He is supporting his 22 year old daughter, who has been unemployed for two and half months. The only debt which he has accumulated up to the present is a grocery account of \$50.00. This is the first time he has appealed for any assistance.

### Role Perception

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ refuses to consider himself as one of the usual (regular) clients of Welfare and will not even accept the extra amount of \$10.00 a month allotted for medications. He feels that he only needs a loan to meet his most pressing expenses - rent and food. He repeats many times to the worker that he would be embarrassed should his friends and acquaintances find out about his appeal for Welfare assistance. His wife made the appointment for him and urged him strongly to attend the interview.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ claims himself to be very happy about his relationship with the worker.

To Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, the work of a welfare officer consists of determining the eligibility of a client, and understanding him. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ didn't expect any unusual pecuniary assistance. He came to discuss a business matter. The worker who carried out the interview considers his work as being that of an informer. He hopes to inform the clients about their rights. He thinks that if a client is overwhelmed by personal problems he must refer him to a specialized social agency. As for him (worker) he considers his work to be that of obtaining in each case, all the financial assistance possible under the law, and informing a client of his rights.



## Situation

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, about 47 years of age, has been unemployed since the first of January. He had previously worked for the same company for 11 years. A decrease in contracts made it necessary for this company to lay off some men and Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ found himself, in spite of his seniority, without work. He has attempted to find another job but has met with refusals everywhere; "because of my age", he explained. He came to the Welfare Department to ask for temporary assistance, convinced that he will be able to regain his old job in a few weeks. He has never had any debts and the delay in the payment of his accounts worries him greatly.

## Role Perception

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ is convinced that his request for assistance is only temporary. He has always worked and is convinced he will be able to start work again shortly; he is fourth on the list, he says. He feels sure that his good faith and honesty will assure him of social assistance. To prove his good intentions, he moved last May to a less expensive apartment. He believes the Welfare Department pays a bare minimum but he wants to conform to their policy in order to receive assistance. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ was tense and nervous throughout the interview, concerned that he might not please the welfare worker. He was aware that the worker's role was to question the client's needs and protect the Department from fraud. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ declared he was a good worker and was pleased that the agent demanded information before assuring him of any assistance.

The social worker said it was a question of temporary assistance and indicated that if he had the time he would attempt to have Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ re-hired by his employer.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, approximately 35 years of age, married and the father of four children, has a regular job as night-watchman four days a week. He came to the Welfare office to get special assistance to pay two accounts (grocery and natural gas) which are two months overdo. His meagre salary does not enable him to borrow money from a finance company because he declares, "I will never be able to repay a loan." He only has four years' schooling and hopes soon to find a better-paying job. He accumulated the above debts during a two-month period of unemployment at the end of the winter.

#### Role Perception

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ does not consider himself as being socially aided and dependent on welfare services, but rather as a man working to support his family, entrusting his problems to the Welfare Office. He considers his situation temporary and thinks that if he looks hard he will soon find a better-paying and more interesting job. He is asking for partial financial support.

He is satisfied with his interview with the social welfare agent. He expected the agent to question him in detail about his needs because helping people who are in financial difficulty is the purpose of the Welfare Department. According to Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, the agent should be understanding and attentive to people who are of goodwill; he should encourage them, facilitate their attempts to find work, and make sure they are well enough informed not to be taken in by finance companies and pawbrokers.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, approximately 35 years of age, is separated, and supporting his five children, three of whom he has placed in an institution. He works in a very spasmodic way as an electrician in construction camps. He exhausted his unemployment insurance payments last winter. He reports daily to the Manpower Centre and to his Union office. The unemployment situation in the construction camps in Montreal prevents him from finding work. He mentions that there are 1,300 in his Union in a similar situation. He would be willing to work in the interior of Quebec but because of his five children he must remain in Montreal. He is requesting financial assistance in order to be able to meet his monthly obligations.

#### Role Perception

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, considers his request for assistance as being entirely temporary. He wants to advance quickly. His appeal bothers him to quite an extent. He made it clear to the welfare agent how much he would prefer to work. His request for financial assistance is only to cover his regular expenses. He considers himself, not a person assisted by Welfare, but an unemployed worker who has exhausted his unemployment insurance payments. He indicated to the agent that he paid enough taxes while working to be entitled to government aid.

He declares himself to be very pleased with his interview with the welfare agent. The latter is quick, direct and very nice, and his job is only to assure the client of financial assistance within the limits set by the law. He was afraid of embarrassing questions, and a moralistic attitude.

The social worker considers it to be a case of temporary assistance, and that it is very important to support the client financially in order to encourage him to look after his children.

## Situation

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, 25 years old, has his arm in a cast. He has been unemployed for several months, will be immobile for another two months and is not eligible for unemployment insurance. He earned a maximum of \$65.00 a week when he was working. He has three very young children who were recently sick; has many medical debts, plus a \$2,000.00 debt to a finance company from whom he has received several lawyer's letters. He has to appear in court in the near future. His wife, whom he described as nervous, hyper-tense, and depressed, is working in a factory. She earns \$45 a week. Last May, he signed a lease for renting a flat at \$140 a month (an amount he is unable to pay). He would like to "break the lease" and move, but he does not know how to proceed. He says he is unable to keep any job he takes - he seems to make "one mistake after another." He and his wife are orphans and were placed in a home by the Welfare Department.

## Role Perception

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ defines himself as a very "unlucky" fellow. He has the impression that in spite of his good will and honesty he is unable to get along. He says he "got off on the wrong foot in life." He would like someone to take an interest in him and dictate a path to follow. He says that his life has been a failure and he would willingly hand over his decision-making to another person. He declares himself pleased with his interview with the agent. He would have liked advice on his relationship with his wife; and on the possibility of breaking his lease and moving into a less expensive apartment. Because he did not get this advice, he concludes that such qualities are not part of the list of prerogatives of a social agent. He is ready to adapt to anything. The agent knew what his responsibilities were to people needing assistance. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ hopes for financial assistance and would be happy to get it. He does not reproach the agent who is doing his job.

## Situation

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, about 25, married, with one child, works as a substitute in the Port of Montreal. Not being a member of the Dockers' Union, he only works part of the summer and fall. He is unemployed for about five months a year. When he came to the welfare office he had just exhausted his unemployment insurance payments and was waiting to start work again by the end of July. His seven brothers work in the port. He is convinced that as soon as he registers as a permanent union member his problems will be resolved. He claims he needs assistance only until he goes back to work.

## Role Perception

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ does not consider himself to be a welfare client, but rather an unemployed worker whose situation demands special assistance. He hopes to show his willingness to cooperate by giving the welfare agent all the necessary information for filling out the forms.

He declares himself pleased with his interview. To him the agent is a civil servant carrying out a government service. He regards the agent's enquiries about his eligibility for assistance as part of the regulations of the Welfare Department.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ (social worker), for his part, feels it is a matter of the chronic case of a young man who is content to be unemployed five months a year. The fact that he is assisted every time he is in difficulty takes away his desire to find a permanent job. He feels he must do his utmost to obtain assistance for the client, but that such action will never rehabilitate the man.



## Situation

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, age 38, single, has a room in a boarding house. He has not been working for a year and a half. He had a paralytic attack in his leg and underwent several treatments in hospital. He goes regularly to the Manpower Centre. During his illness he lived on money received from the sale of his car. At the moment he is three weeks behind in his rent; he is afraid his landlady will ask him to leave. He is happy with \$30 a week to live on. His leisure time is spent watching television. He is an assistant plumber, but is willing to accept any rate of pay and any kind of work. He tries every day to find a job but his physical and mental capacities are very limited.

## Role Perception

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ did not show any signs of reproach toward the welfare office or the agent during the interview. He came on the advice of his sister-in-law. He does not know whether the welfare office can do anything for him. He is not asking for financial assistance; he wants to explain his situation on the chance that they can help him. He is willing to follow the agent's advice to continue to look for a job. He said several times, "There is no work, but I will keep on looking if you like."

He is pleased with his interview with the agent, whom he had expected would listen and decide what was best for him. He did not emphasize his lack of resources.

Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ (social worker) would prefer not to give him immediate assistance. She is distrustful of bachelors who are not satisfied with a little and become permanent clients. She mentioned at the end of the interview that if the recipient had been more willing to try, she would probably have given him financial assistance.



Miss——, age 22, is six months pregnant. She had to stop work as a waitress in a restaurant and is living with her parents. According to law, her parents are responsible for providing for her needs up to a certain amount because she is living with them. She is entirely without resources and is looked upon as a maid by her family. She came to the interview hyper-tense, nervous and on the brink of a fit of tears.

### Role Perception

Miss—— is frustrated by the need for financial assistance which, in her opinion, she is entitled to because of her situation. It is a difficult time for her and the Welfare Department should make the task easier. She realizes she will have responsibilities when the baby is born and she is afraid she will not be able to care for him properly. She insists that she is not requesting aid for herself but for the baby; she would not want him to lack anything.

She says she is happy with the interview with the social welfare agent and is convinced he is doing everything he can, but that his role consists in applying a law with unjust scales of financial assistance. It is not even a question of discussing her discontent with the agent - neither of them can do anything about it.

The social worker considers it to be a case of temporary assistance. It is preferable, according to him, for Miss—— to live with her parents and it is better not to facilitate matters for her too much for fear she will not be encouraged to start again.

## Situation

Miss —— is pregnant and is asking for immediate temporary as well as permanent financial assistance for the care of her child. She is living with her parents but her father is unemployed and cannot help her financially. She has just left high school because of her condition as an unmarried mother. She would like to be able to live with her parents, raise her child herself and take courses in shorthand and English.

## Role Perception

Miss —— would have liked an immediate reply to her request for assistance especially the amount she will be accorded. In her opinion, it is self-explanatory that her situation as an unwed mother demands financial assistance from the Welfare Department. She is getting all the monetary assistance possible from her family and has met a social worker from a family agency. She came expressly to find out what sum of money she will receive.

She declares herself pleased with her interview with the welfare agent but would have preferred to know the amount of assistance she could expect.

The social worker considers his client a little girl who must continue to be kept by her family. He did not ask her any questions concerning her plans for her child. He deems it necessary to make an enquiry into the home before allotting any aid.

## Situation

19.

Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_, 40 years of age, of French origin, made one request for welfare assistance five years ago when she was abandoned by her husband. She received aid for several months until she began working. She applied again to the Welfare Department in June after having lost her job as cashier. Not being eligible for unemployment insurance, her only revenue is weekly board from two of her children. She has a daughter age 13, dependent on her. Tired, anxious and sick, she came to the Welfare Department to ask for temporary assistance.

## Role Perception

Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ says that when she first appealed to the Welfare Department she felt "exploited" and "worthless". Having to ask for assistance because of desertion by her husband hurt her morally. At that time she felt she was being considered a minor, but she now declares herself to be much more calm. She feels she has done everything possible in the last five years to earn her living and bring up her children and that she has every right to seek temporary financial support. Furthermore, had she not been laid off because of lack of work, she would still have a job.

She is pleased with her interview with the welfare agent. She feels that the agent should be much more attentive to the personal problems of those in need of assistance. She would have liked encouragement and moral support in bringing up her children. Welfare agents never questioned her about her difficulties, her loneliness. She felt this was probably due to lack of time and that such duties are not in their list of prerogatives. But she wishes the opposite were the case, "because it is so important for the morale".

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ (social worker) considers her case a temporary one.

## Situation

Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_, age 33, is a widow with four dependent children. Her husband hung himself in their yard on his release from the psychiatric asylum of Bordeaux. Married at 16 years of age, and having left her family and mother-in-law with whom she does not want to maintain any contact, her marriage to an alcoholic has deeply disillusioned her.

She has a baby of eleven months, which was acknowledged legally by its father. He only paid her the baby bonus expected, during the first month. Since then she has attempted many times to legally adopt the baby and prevent the father claiming him as a dependent. The possibility that the father may one day claim the baby is a constant source of worry. During the first three years of widowhood, she lived on insurance from her husband's estate. At the same time she worked in a clothes factory as an overseer. She found this work outside the home a source of satisfaction. Last January she made her first appeal as a needy mother, when the factory where she was working closed down. Because she was then eligible for unemployment insurance, her appeal was refused. Still without work, and having exhausted her unemployment insurance payments, she appeared again at the Social Welfare office in July.

## Role Perception

Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ considers herself relieved, free and happy since the death of her husband. Having always worked very hard and trying to raise her children to the best of her knowledge and ability, she came to the Social Welfare without asking for any assistance. For her it was a matter of trying to find a job if financial support was refused. She lives from day to day, without anxiety. She declared during the interview that she prefers not to think of the future. She states that she always adapts herself to whatever situation presents itself.

She says she is satisfied with the interview with the social service agent. Although she made no particular appeal to him, she is assured to know that he will try to obtain some assistance. However, she forbids the agent the right to interfere in her private life and finds the questions concerning her personal behaviour very impertinent. The role of the social worker is to help her with the information she is willing to submit to him about her needs.

Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_, who has been divorced five years, supports school-age children. She says that for the first time she is late in paying the rent, gas and heat bills. She emigrated to Quebec 10 years ago, and settled in Sept-Iles. She moved a year ago because the climate was harmful to the health of her son who has bronchitis. After having held a position as manager of a shoe store in Sept-Iles, she found herself without a job in Montreal. She started receiving her unemployment insurance payments, while holding a job as salesgirl for a few weeks (a very irregular job and only part-time). She is getting alimony for her children, but the irregularity of payments causes her much anxiety. Having exhausted her unemployment insurance payments and once again, unemployed, she has to look after her two children during summer holidays. She hopes to start work again in September.

#### Role Perception

Following the action taken by a neighbour who made the appointment and accompanied her to the interview, Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ for the first time made a request for assistance, and insisted on the temporary nature of this request. Warned by neighbours who were hostile to the Social Welfare service, Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ demonstrated over and over again her uneasiness and discouragement. Because she had hesitated for so long to make an appeal for assistance she expected to get immediate financial assistance to meet her most urgent expenses. She insisted that she was forced to make such an appeal because of factors beyond her control (lack of work, school holidays, a sick child). She was very open to questions concerning her ordinary expenses but objected vehemently to the questions and advice of the social service worker concerning the organization of her life and family.

She expects from the welfare, temporary financial aid, nothing more. Her difficult situation seems only temporary and she expects to have things under control again very soon. Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ thinks that the social worker can find out about the current expenditures which the client must face. Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ says she is very unhappy with the interview.

She considers it necessary that to prevent any fraud, official papers must be required (birth certificates, sickness and marriage certificates) in order to obtain



assistance. But she refuses to allow the social service worker to interfere in her personal problems, such as the education of her children, her relationship with her husband, her parents and neighbours. She considers this advice an intrusion into her private life and an attack on her responsibilities.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ evaluates the aspect of his work as a social service worker concerned with the interview of the client. He brings to attention on many occasions how different each individual case appears to him. For him, it is a question of entering into a friendly relationship with the client during every interview. According to him there are no urgent situations; the clients must understand that the welfare offices are not "Saint Vincent de Paul." His role is to help people who appeal for assistance, not only on the level of their financial problems but also on the level of their personal problems. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ considers the case of Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ to be temporary; he explains the tenseness and nervousness of the woman as being due to her concern for her children's security. He considers it normal that she is worried but thinks she must regain composure and wait for the actions he must take to assist her. Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ considers a welfare officer is in a better position than the social worker of an agency, to maintain a close, permanent relationship with the client. He considers the financial aspect of an appeal to be of secondary importance and that an officer must above all develop a relationship with the client, stay completely at his disposition, and manifest the wish to see him again.



## Situation

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, 28 years of age, married, father of one child, underwent an operation. He is at the moment convalescing and must remain so for several weeks. Overwhelmed with debts to finance companies, not eligible for unemployment insurance, he came to the Welfare Department for a loan which he could repay when able to return to work.

## Role Perception

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_, feels very much at ease. He is aware that if the money is lent to him, he must repay it when he starts to work. He responds willingly to questions concerning his budget and debts.

He declares himself to be very pleased with his interview with the welfare agent. He feels that the latter must try all possible means to help people who come for assistance to free themselves from the "clutches of financial companies". A welfare agent must in his opinion give judicious advice so that people can as a result succeed in getting along by themselves.

The social worker considers it to be a very temporary case - one of getting the client back on his feet. According to him the client has a lot of initiative, a sense of organization, and will be able to get along well with the sum of money he will be accorded.

23.

### Situation

Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ is married, with three children. Her husband is a plumber. He has been unemployed for five months and is getting unemployment insurance but not enough for the family's needs. They are four month's overdue with the rent and have a grocery bill of \$60.00.

### Role Perception

Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ felt she was very well received by the social worker. She was embarrassed about asking for help and therefore very reserved. The social worker put her at ease. Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_ had expected someone more domineering. The social worker told her she was not eligible for regular assistance, he would try for special assistance. The client does not understand what that means but is confident the social worker will do what he can.

24.

### Situation

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ has been receiving \$240.00 a month as illness payments since June 15, but these payments will stop in September. His doctor told him to go to the Welfare Department. The social worker assured him of financial assistance. As soon as his insurance for illness stops at the end of the August he will get Welfare assistance. He does not think he will ever work again or even get out much. He would like part-time employment but this is difficult at his age. He has seven children; his wife is sick. He feels he has always worked very hard.

### Role Perception

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ was pleased with the interview. He was proud and had put off going to the Welfare Department. The social worker who was very sympathetic to his problem, told him he came too soon but it was good to make sure in advance (before September).

## Situation

Miss \_\_\_\_\_ is 22 years of age. She is pregnant and left her job as a waitress because her doctor insisted that she not work outside her home. Although she has her parents' moral support, they are unable to help her financially.

She feels very strongly that the father of her unborn child is too young to take on the responsibility of a family and does not want the Welfare Office to involve him. She plans on getting another job after her baby is born. Her needs are only financial.

## Role Perception

Miss \_\_\_\_\_ feels assured that the Welfare Department will give her financial assistance. Although it had seemed like asking for charity she felt many people were on welfare who did not need to be and it was her right because of the circumstances.

Miss \_\_\_\_\_ was pleased with her interview. She found the social worker very discreet, sensitive and natural. She found it reassuring to be respected. The social worker did not probe, asking only questions which were on the form. Miss \_\_\_\_\_ pointed out how pleased she was to be able to talk to a woman about her problem. A previous interview with a male worker had upset her because he was not physically clean and advised her to have an abortion.

## Situation

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ is heavily in debt due to gambling when a young boy. He has not accumulated other debts since that time. He lives common-law in his parents' home and has a two months' old boy.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ has three fractured fingers, which limits him to certain jobs, but he would like to find work. His parents are on welfare.

## Role Perception

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ was satisfied with the interview and convinced that the Welfare Department would give him assistance.

He felt the social worker's function, as an employee of the Government, was to give help. He was encouraged by the interview and appreciated the fact that the worker did not criticize him for his debts and for living common-law.



APPENDIX B

VIDEO TAPE CODING SUMMARY





VIDEO TAPE CODING SUMMARY \*

Interv.	No. Worker	TIME IN %		EFFECTIVENESS OF INTERVIEW			Causal Inferences	NO. OF PROPOSITIONS					TOTAL	Time Spoken	How Often Causal Sentences	Clients' Satisfaction	CONGRUENCE BETWEEN ROLE PERCEP'N	
		Spoken By Worker	Spoken By Client	Spoken	Silence	Inter-rupt'ns		Sustain-ment	Direct	Explor-ation	Reflec-tion	Others					Client	Worker
1	14	54.5	45.5	92.7	17.3	3.2	14	4.5	3.9	86.5	2.9	2.2	178	1165	83	2	+	+
2	2	54.2	45.8	52.7	33.9	13.4	6	6.0	6.8	73.3	12.0	1.9	116	710	119	2	+	+
3	2	50.7	49.3	71.4	28.6	-	6	1.0	2.9	90.1	5.9	0	101	800	133	3	+	+
4	6	46.9	53.1	62.0	35.6	2.4	11	8.5	0.6	77.6	12.7	0.6	166	1035	94	2	+	+
5	6	50.2	49.8	74.5	17.6	7.9	8	13.2	2.7	59.1	24.5	0.5	175	1295	154	3	+	+
6	4	53.1	46.9	53.9	45.7	0.4	6	2.2	13.4	76.2	7.5	0.7	134	1027	171	2	-	+
7	4	55.6	44.4	50.8	49.2	-	4	0	2.5	85.9	10.0	1.6	121	710	178	2	+	+
9	5	47.7	52.3	89.8	10.2	-	7	7.3	4.7	72.0	16.0	0	150	1435	205	2	+	+
10	3	38.0	62.0	69.1	24.2	6.7	3	9.5	7.0	60.0	23.5	0	85	910	303	2	+	+
11	3	60.4	39.4	41.4	57.8	0.8	0	2.0	14.3	61.3	20.4	2.0	49	298	298	2	+	+
12	1	51.5	48.5	83.9	16.1	-	4	3.9	10.5	50.9	34.0	0.7	153	1010	252	2	+	+
13	7	39.1	60.9	66.2	33.8	-	5	5.8	10.5	62.6	20.0	1.1	86	798	159	3	+	+
14	7	24.9	75.1	69.6	30.4	-	5	14.6	2.9	61.1	20.4	1.0	103	1144	229	2	+	+
16	8	54.4	45.6	76.3	20.9	2.8	7	7.0	6.6	63.1	23.3	0	184	1298	185	1	-	-
17	8	56.9	43.1	76.2	23.8	-	14	4.0	12.6	48.0	33.7	1.7	225	1250	89	1	-	-
18	9	40.9	59.1	79.2	20.8	-	14	6.0	4.6	73.8	14.6	1.4	131	1110	79	2	+	+
20	10	44.5	55.5	76.1	23.9	-	15	2.5	20.9	63.0	13.6	0	81	538	36	3	-	+
21	10	34.9	65.1	75.1	24.9	-	6	7.1	24.7	40.0	25.9	2.3	85	716	119	2	+	+
22	1	58.9	41.1	77.2	22.8	-	1	4.4	6.5	55.7	33.4	0	227	1250	1250	2	-	-
23	12	33.8	66.2	57.9	28.9	13.2	3	8.4	12.1	69.1	10.4	0	58	508	169	2	+	+
24	11	67.1	32.9	46.4	43.7	19.9	1	5.9	22.1	63.4	8.6	0	104	858	858	2	+	+
25	13	47.4	52.6	53.1	44.1	2.8	5	1.2	9.9	85.2	3.7	0	81	464	93	2	+	+
26	11	57.2	42.8	84.1	12.3	3.6	1	4.2	47.1	42.3	5.6	0.8	237	1348	1348	3	+	+
27	15	67.3	32.7	85.0	15.0	-	5	6.3	13.1	60.3	20.3	0	237	1348	269	2	+	+
28	13	47.8	52.2	63.1	36.9	-	0	5.5	27.5	56.0	11.0	0	91	742	742	3	+	+
29	12	51.8	48.2	63.5	28.4	8.1	2	6.3	21.5	64.6	7.6	0	79	764	382	2	+	+

\* Because of the financial limitations in conducting this research, it was impossible to go to the added expense of developing inter-rater reliability indices for these ratings.

Index:

Very Satisfied 3  
Satisfied 2  
Not Satisfied 1



## APPENDIX C

SUMMARY OF ROLE PERCEPTION OF CLIENT  
AND WORKER AND RATE OF SATISFACTION OF  
CLIENT AT END OF INTAKE INTERVIEW



The following table summarizes the perceptions of the two principal characters in the intake interview - the client and the worker. What is perceived as the problem and how the person deals with that problem is the major category implied by role perception. Thus, for interview No. 1 we have the client's perception of his own role in the upper lefthand quadrant of the fourfold table. The word alone suggests that the client sees his role as that of an applicant for a loan. Moving down on the lefthand side, the worker agrees that the client perceives his role as that of an applicant for a loan. The right-hand boxes in this fourfold table for interview No. 1 suggest that the client perceives that the social worker's role is to give financial aid and that the social worker sees his role in a similar way. Thus, the upper lefthand quadrant in each of the interviews gives the client's perception of his own role; the lower righthand quadrant gives the worker's perception of his role. To the right, is a listing for each interview of our rating of the client's satisfaction at the end of the interview when seen by our researcher. The ratings are in terms of satisfaction:

- 1 Not satisfied
- 2 Satisfied
- 3 Very satisfied

To take two examples:

In interview 13 there is general agreement by both the client and the worker that financial and personal problems bring the person to the interview. In other words, the role of the client is seen as that of seeking help for financial and personal problems. The worker's role is seen as that of giving financial aid and providing counselling service.

In interview 16, conversely, the client comes with a feeling that his role is to obtain help with financial problems stemming from the fact that he is unemployed, while the worker views the client's perception of the client's role as that of financial problems due to personal problems. The client sees the role of the



worker as one of giving financial aid, where the worker sees the worker's role as that of giving both financial aid and counselling. Therefore, in none of the four role perceptions is there complete congruence and, as indicated by the rating of "1", the client is not satisfied at the end of the interview.

Because of the financial limitations in conducting this research it was impossible to go to the added expense of developing inter-rater reliability indices for these ratings.

ROLE PERCEPTION OF WORKER AND CLIENT  
AFTER INTAKE INTERVIEW

INTERVIEW NUMBER	TYPE OF PERCEPTION	CLIENT	WORKER	CLIENT'S SATISFACTION
1	Client Worker	Loan Loan	Financial Aid Financial Aid	2
2	Client Worker	Financial Problems (Pregnancy) Financial Problems (Pregnancy)	Financial Aid Financial Aid	2
3	Client Worker	Financial Problems (Laid Off) Financial Problems (Laid Off)	Financial Aid Financial Aid	3
4	Client Worker	Debts Debts	Partial Financial Aid Partial Financial Aid	2
5	Client Worker	Delay in Welfare Cheque Delay in Welfare Cheque	Official Task only Official Task only	3
6	Client Worker	Financial + Per- sonal Problems Financial only	Financial Aid Counselling Financial Aid	2
7	Client Worker	Unemployment Financial Unemployment Financial	Financial Aid Financial Aid	2
9	Client Worker	Unemployment and Family Problems Unemployment and Family Problems	Financial Aid and Counselling Financial Aid and Counselling	2

.....Continued

INTERVIEW NUMBER	TYPE OF PERCEPTION	CLIENT	WORKER	CLIENT'S SATIS- FACTION
10	Client Worker	Financial Problems Financial Problems	Financial Aid Financial Aid	2
11	Client Worker	Financial Problems (Pregnancy) Financial Problems (Pregnancy)	Financial Aid Financial Aid	2
12	Client Worker	Unemployment Unemployment	Probably Financial Aid Undecided	2
13	Client Worker	Financial and Personal Problems (Pregnancy) Financial and Personal Problems (Pregnancy)	Financial Aid and Counselling Financial Aid and Counselling	3
14	Client Worker	Debts Debts	Financial Aid Financial Aid	2
16	Client Worker	Financial Problems (Unemployment) Financial and Personal Problems	Financial Aid Financial Aid and Counselling	1
17	Client Worker	Financial Problems Financial and Personal Problems	Financial Aid Financial Aid and Counselling	1 1
18	Client Worker	Loan Loan	Financial Aid Financial Aid	2
20	Client Worker	Financial Problems (Epilepsy) Financial and Personal Problems	Financial Aid Financial Aid	3
21	Client Worker	Debts Debts	Financial Aid Financial Aid	2
22	Client Worker	Financial Problems Financial and Personal Problems	Financial Aid Financial Aid and Counselling	2

.....Continued

INTERVIEW NUMBER	TYPE OF PERCEPTION	CLIENT	WORKER	CLIENT'S SATIS- FACTION
23	Client	Financial Problem (unemployment)	Financial Aid	2
	Worker	Financial Problem (unemployment)	Financial Aid	
24	Client	Financial Problem due to illness	Financial Aid	2
	Worker	Financial Problem due to illness	Financial Aid	
25	Client	Financial Problem (small unemploy- ment insurance)	Financial Aid	2
	Worker	Financial Problem (small unemploy- ment insurance)	Financial Aid	
26	Client	Financial Problem (waiting for old age pension)	Financial Aid	3
	Worker	Financial Problem (waiting for old age pension)	Financial Aid	
27	Client	Financial Problem (unemployment)	Financial Aid	2
	Worker	Financial Problem (unemployment)	Financial Aid	
28	Client	Loan	Financial Aid	3
	Worker	Loan	Financial Aid	
29	Client	Financial Problem (end of disability pension)	Financial Aid	2
	Worker	Financial Problem (end of disability pension)	Financial Aid	

INDEX:

- 1 - Not satisfied
- 2 - Satisfied
- 3 - Very satisfied



APPENDIX D

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